

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----025206 162237Z /41

O P 162220Z JAN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2086  
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 00785

EXDIS

FROM MOOSE- PASS TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PDEV RH UK  
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: MEETINGS WITH OWEN

1. MOOSE, AMBASSADOR BREWSTER, LOW ET AL MET WITH DAVID OWEN AND HIS GROUP IN HIS OFFICE AT PARLIAMENT FOR MOST OF THE AFTERNOON. THIS MEETING FOLLOWED A MORNING SESSION WITH JOHNNY GRAHAM DURING WHICH THE BRITISH OUTLINED A VERY PESSIMISTIC PICTURE OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA. ESSENTIALLY, THEY SAID THAT NO ONE HAD ACCEPTED THE BRITISH-AMERICAN PROPOSALS; ACTION WAS NOW WITH SMITH IN SALISBURY; AND WE HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF TALKS THERE.

2. MOOSE OPENED THE DISCUSSION WITH OWEN ON THE BASIS  
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THAT TALKS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN NAIROBI ON JANUARY 26 (OWEN HAD NOT HEARD OF NKOMO'S PROPOSAL FOR SUCH A MEETING) OFFERED AN OPPORTUNITY FOR US TO BUILD ON WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN SALISBURY. WHILE THOSE TALKS HAD RESULTED IN CONSIDERABLE POSITIVE AGREEMENT THEY STILL HAD A LONG WAY TO GO, PARTICULARLY IN THE DIFFICULT AREA OF THE TRANSITION. WE COULD PUSH SMITH

TOWARD FURTHER CONCESSIONS IN SALISBURY BY MEETING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THE FRONT, ON THE OTHER HAND, BEING CONCERNED ABOUT SALISBURY SHOULD BE IN MORE COMPROMISING MOOD. OUR OBJECTIVE SHOULD BE TO FOLD THE TWO TALKS TOGETHER. IF SMITH'S TALKS BREAKDOWN, OR IF THEY SEEM TO BE REACHING AN IMPASSE, (AS WE BELIEVE THEY WILL) AND IF IN THE MEANWHILE, THE PATRIOTIC FRONT HAS MADE CONCESSIONS, WE WILL THEN BE IN POSITION TO POINT OUT TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT SMITH HAS HAD HIS TURN AT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND THEIR BEST BET IS TO GO WITH US.

3. OWEN SAID HE FOUND LITTLE TO DISAGREE WITH IN MOOSE'S PRESENTATION. HE AGREED THAT NAIROBI WAS THE ONE CITY IN AFRICA WHICH WAS ACCEPTABLE TO HIM AS A SITE FOR THE MEETINGS, NOTING THAT KENYATTA HAD TOLD HIM HE WAS PREPARED TO COOPERATE WITH US. HE SAW ADVANTAGE IN THE NAIROBI MEETING IN TERMS OF WARDING OFF UNACCEPTABLE RESOLUTIONS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL. OWEN THEN ATTEMPTED AT SOME LENGTH TO PIECE TOGETHER THE EVOLUTION OF NKOMO'S INCREASINGLY NEGATIVE POSITION. HE SEEMED TO FEEL THERE WAS LITTLE WE COULD EXPECT FROM NKOMO IN NAIROBI UNLESS WE COULD HOLD OUT THE PROSPECT OF AN EVENTUAL MEETING WITH SMITH AND HE TRIED TO ENVISAGE A SCENARIO WHICH WOULD LEAD FROM NAIROBI TO A UK-US SPONSORED MEETING BETWEEN THE PF AND SMITH EITHER IN NAIROBI OR SOMEWHERE ELSE.

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4. MUCH OF THE MEETING WAS TAKEN UP IN DISCUSSION OF OUR POSITION IN NAIROBI. OWEN WAS ANXIOUS THAT WE ARRIVE AT AN AGREED JOINT POSITION SO THAT THE PF COULD NOT PLAY US OFF AGAINST EACH OTHER THERE. WE DISCUSSED THREE AREAS OF NEGOTIATION: ADVISORY COMMITTEES, THE

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-----025223 162239Z /41

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2087

INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 00785

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POLICE AND JUDICIARY. OWEN AND CARVER WERE REASSURED BY MOOSE THAT IN OUR VIEW THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER MUST BE LEFT WITH FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR DECISION MAKING. OWEN TOOK THE LEAD IN EXPLORING WAYS TO GIVE "SOMETHING EXTRA" FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT, I.E., A POSITION WHICH WOULD MEET SOME OF THE PF DEMANDS FOR PARTICIPATION DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD AND FOR A SPECIAL STATUS SEPARATE FROM MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE. CARTER RESISTED PROPOSING SPECIFIC AUXILIARY INSTITUTIONS FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD, EVEN IF THEY WERE ONLY ADVISORY. WE ALL AGREED THAT THE TERM "TRANSITION COUNCIL" WAS PREFERABLE TO "ADVISORY COUNCIL" AND WE DISCUSSED THE POSSIBILITY OF FORMING A CEASEFIRE MAINTENANCE COMMITTEE COMPOSED OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE UN REPRESENTATIVE AND THE MILITARY COMMANDERS OF THE RHODESIAN FORCES AND, AMONG THE NATIONALISTS, ONLY THE P.F. PRESSING HIS CONCERN TO DEAL WITH KNOWN PF RESERVATIONS, OWEN SUGGESTED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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NEED TO REVIEW OUR PREVIOUS POSITIONS ON THE POLICE AND JUDICIARY. CARVER WAS OPPOSED TO ANY DEROGATION OF HIS CONTROL OVER THE POLICE. WE CONCLUDED THAT WHILE WE WOULD MAINTAIN THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE JUDICIARY WAS INVIOLEATE, AT SOME POINT WE WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO GET FROM THE PF THE NAMES OF THOSE JUDGES WHO WERE COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM. GRAHAM SAID IT WAS QUITE POSSIBLE THAT MOST OF THESE MEN WOULD VOLUNTARILY LEAVE BEFORE THE TRANSITION PERIOD BEGAN.

5. WE DISCUSSED, AND OWEN AGREED WITH, THE NEED TO INFORM SMITH, SITHOLE AND MUZOREWA OF OUR PLANS TO MEET THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN NAIROBI IF THE PROPOSAL IS MADE

AND THEN TO MEET WITH AT LEAST THE LATTER TWO AFTERWARDS.

6. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE BRITISH WOULD DRAW UP A PAPER ON THESE ISSUES FOR FURTHER STUDY ON TUESDAY. OWEN HIMSELF MAY GO TO BRUSSELS ALTHOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE THAT HE WILL REMAIN TO CONSIDER THE MATTER FURTHER WITH US. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE NAIROBI MEETING WOULD INCLUDE OWEN, YOUNG, PREM CHAND AND THEIR FULL DELEGATIONS.

7. COMMENT: OWEN'S FULL ACCEPTANCE OF OUR APPROACH WAS SOMEWHAT OF A SURPRISE AFTER THE INITIAL MEETING IN THE MORNING. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE FCO PROFESSIONALS WERE CHAGRINED OVER HIS FORTHCOMING POSITION. THEY ARE MUCH MORE PESSIMISTIC THAN OWEN OVER THE PROSPECT FOR NAIROBI AND FOR FURTHER PROGRESS ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. HOWEVER WE BELIEVE OWEN WILL PREVAIL AT LEAST INSOFAR AS NAIROBI IS CONCERNED. IF OWEN HOLDS TO THE POSITIONS HE TOOK TODAY, THE MAIN DISPUTE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS WILL BE BETWEEN HIM AND CARVER WITH OWEN TAKING MOST OF THE POSITIONS WHICH WE OURSELVES WOULD SUPPORT. AGAINST  
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THE CHANCE THAT OWEN MAY UNDERGO ONE OF HIS FREQUENT OVERNIGHT CHANGES OF HEART, MOOSE WILL STAY OVER TOMORROW

BREWSTER

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## Message Attributes

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